565 Duveyrier's protectors during his stay in the Tassili, acquire a real
631 authority over the Ihăggaren and the Kel Ăjjer, surely serving the
793 causes of peace. Their general action is much less significant than he says, and we may cite as proof that the same Ifora were pillaged themselves upon several occasions by the Ihăggaren and forced to seek shelter in our South Algerian posts.

The influence of the Inislimen on the Ihăggaren and the Kel
[797] Ăjjer is not very considerable, for their religious proselytism is hardly active, and they are more diligent at making their herds prosper than they are at spreading the law of the Prophet, of whom, in fact, they are generally quite ignorant.

[559] /164/ They are very well thought of in spite of this, and their chief is surrounded by a very great respect. Very peace loving, they established trusting relations with us a long time ago and disapproved of the belligerent action of the Ihăggaren against us, in particular at the time of the massacre of the Flatters mission.

184 The Inislimen play a very important role among the Tademaket
565 and the Ioullimmiden, actively spreading Islamism. Some are
793 accomplished men of letters and teach the Koran in the camps.
797 While the marabout elements in the north were the first to
[648] become reconciled with us, we have had the most indomitable enemies in their brothers from the south. They were at the base of all the agitations and revolts with their preachings, and they preached resistance to the French occupation with the greatest ardor.

194 The cradle of the Ifora was probably the ancient Berber capital,
565 Tademeka, whose present Arabic name is Es-Souq, which was
793 given to the principal tribe. They swarmed hither and yon from the Niger loop, by whole tribes or by small groups of a few tents. They are found all over Tuareg country.

[721] Many of them, using their religious character as a pretext,
[181] refuse to take part in wars. But beside these pacifist groups are
701 other clearly warlike ones; among the Ioullimmiden, the Cheriffen are divided into ordinary Cheriffen and warrior Cheriffen.

565 [51] [177] Although their present situation is more prosperous than that of the Imochar, as we have said, they do not stop at considerations of prestige of the latter. Since the occupation, they have been able to raise an appreciable income through animal husbandry and caravans.

565 631 [647] The Imrad are organized by tribes, electing a chief and respecting matriarchal rules like the Imochar. They administer their affairs internally as they see fit, without intervention of the amenokal or the Imochar in their affairs.

162 In all of the confederations, the Imrad are more numerous than the Imochar, in a ratio of one to five (northern Tuareg) and one to eight (Ioullimmiden).

181 565 ● 721 [727] They are of a more peaceful nature than the Imochar, perhaps because they are less virile and less courageous. Still, they were often taken on raids against their will by the Imochar, and, aided by their taste for gain, they began before long to pillage on their own each time that a good opportunity presented itself. They often organized expeditions on their own initiative, but, if they were successful, they had to pay a certain share of the loot to the nobles. This was a guarantee for the future, the Imochar said, knowing full well that a raid brings about a counterraid, and that they were liable to suffer /166/ the repercussions of the "misconduct" of their vassals one day or another.

565 701 Some Imrad even acquire renown as great warriors, and some Imochar have agreed to place themselves under their command during a raid, bowing to their superiority.

[714] There are ordinary Imrad (goatherds) and warrior Imrad among the Ioullimmiden. The former did not take part in war, while the others were in all combats and, for that reason, had a right to the same armaments as the Imochar, but without the buckler.

565 631 Some tribes even became so strong militarily that they succeeded in freeing themselves completely from Imochar guardianship. This is the case of the Kel Gossi /Gossi/ from the loop of the Niger.

565 [582] Imochar sometimes marry Imrad women who are renowned for their beauty, but no inverse cases have come to our knowledge.

175 The dissensions began with respect to the Imrad tribes depend-
579 ing on the Kel Rela; they were shamelessly stolen by the Tăitok,
631 necessitating the intervention of the suzerains. The Tăitok, fewer
643 in number than the Kel Rela, got the worst of it most of the time, but that never prevented them from beginning again a short time later.

This was still the state of affairs at the end of the last century when Amĕnokal Ăttarel, a very peace-loving man, succeeded in bringing about a cessation of hostilities between the two rival tribes.

The chief of the Tăitok at that time, Sidi ag Kĕradji, was the nephew of Ăttarel through his father; consequently, he was a Kel Rela, while he held the right to the Tăitok tobol from his mother. Ăttarel, as his uncle, strove to protect him from the Kel Rela as well as from some Tăitok elements whom this truce did not suit.

Sidi, feeling the situation escape him, renounced his tobol, believing that by so doing he was ensuring the safety of his wealth and his person in case hostilities broke out again. He took refuge in the Ahaggar with the Kel Rela.

But upon the death of Ăttarel, rivalry reawakened, and the Kel Rela begged Sidi to leave their camps. Where could he go when the Tăitok had only enemies?

Anarchy reigned everywhere, and the Kel I-n-Toûnîn, Imrad of the Tăitok, took advantage of this to emancipate themselves. They appealed to the Ouraren, a noble Ăjjer tribe. Sidi resolved to settle among them, when Azioual, a pretender to the tobol, was trying to seize it.

[181] Azioual was the typical Tăitok, the typical desert looter, with cruel and unrestrained instincts. Captain Métois, former chief of the Annex of the Tidikelt-Hoggar, called him a "man of fine saber blows and abusive language, and in addition, a liar, thief, and traitor." He negotiated the surrender of the Tăitok, while Sidi ag
643 Kĕradji was kept as amĕnokal.
175 Azioual was guided by his taste for robbery to lead an enormous
631 raid in the Hodh in 1905, but he had a run of bad luck. Pushed
[121]

631 Taken away from the Ṭaitok and made free, they were put back under their command in 1909.

631 They nomadize from Silet to Reggan and Aoulef. The land
131 over which they range includes all of the Ădrar Ăhnet, the Ăseg'rad, and part of the Immidir. The boundaries which separate them from the Issekkemaren are as follows: Tin Tir'atimine and Tagemout (belonging to the Kel Immidir) on the northeast; Arak wadi as far as Amsir, and Méniet (belonging to the Kel Immidir) on the east, by the In Rabir well; they have at their disposal all the mountainous part on the south, including In Ziza and Nahalet, that is, the whole region bordering on the Tanezrouft and bounded on the east by Ouallen, the last watering place before the Tanezrouft; to the north by the Ăsouf Mellen wadi.

[132] In dry years they descend to the Sudan in the region of In Abangarit-In Gall and Tamaṛa. They camp near the Ṭaitok in the Ădrar Tazerzaṛt, where they escape the control of the Algerian and Sudanese authorities.

They formerly exploited a sebkha in the In Méraguen wadi.

631 In 1905 they were a group of 35 to 40 tents. In the 1938 census,
[162] they numbered no more than 58 persons, 21 of them men.

[181 Rather pugnacious by nature, they always accompany the
721] Ṭaitok on their expeditions and share the loot with them in equal parts.

[669] During the World War, they stayed in the Ăhnet and /207/ took part in the revolt only individually by supplying the rebels, willingly or by force. Only at the end of 1917, under the influence of Ăjjer elements, did they rise up and pillage in Ădrar and at Ăkabli.

[181 They are rather unreligious; they follow the Malekite rite,
795] and some are members of the Tijaniyyah order. They profess great respect for the marabouts and willingly receive them in their camps. At the beginning of the conflict the agitator Abidine of
[669] the Timbuktu Kounta, took refuge among them; he had led the struggle against us in Timbuktu for a long time.

233 721 The Tuareg are herders. It does not seem that they ever knew any other stage of civilization, except hunting which is the prelude to animal husbandry. But even by judicious use of pasturage they cannot own a great number of domestic animals, and in the last analysis herding falls into the background in their means of existence. Since the country could not feed them, they had to look elsewhere for what they lacked. They therefore looked to their sabers for the rest.

181 721 Like the majority of herders, the perpetually famished Tuareg are born warriors, because from time immemorial they have had to dispute the rich lands with the sedentary peoples. Their free life has made them independent and anarchistic. The wealth /215/ of others has not inspired any respect in them, but rather a sentiment of envy which no moral rule has been able to check. Pillage has thus been raised to the state of an institution, and the Tuareg have become masters of the trade.

721 [182] The raid, now a continual state of war with their neighbors, may be considered the principal social achievement of the Tuareg. And thus we may see the important role that the Ahaggar Mountains play; they are not only a refuge for life, but also a refuge for brigands who want to shelter themselves from the possible investigations of their victims.

579 627 The raid is organized, even ordered, pillage. It is an institution with its rules which the antagonists respect. Its simplest form is taking the neighbor's herds; once the deed is done, the raider makes a deal with him and compromises by giving him back a certain number of animals so that he can subsist, keeping for himself what is judged to be the surplus. The complicated form occurs when the attacked man defends himself or tries to take back his property. That can lead to pitched battles and, as a consequence, dead men. From that time on, it is fratricidal war which demands blood and which creates eternal hatred.

That was what the life of the Ahaggar Tuareg was before the French occupation.

In addition, they robbed caravans who happened into their country, hatefully ransoming the voyagers. Sometimes they went to empty the granaries of the sedentary people of the oases or the Sudanese villages, capturing Negroes and Negresses to sett as slaves.

When peace reigned in their country, they willingly organized /218/ caravans to go to the Tidikelt or Touat oases and bring back dates, or else to the Sudan to get supplies of millet. They also made themselves the protectors of caravans crossing their country, naturally making the caravaneer pay a consistently high duty in merchandise.

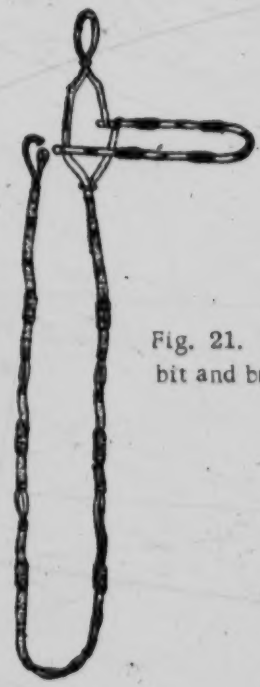

Fig. 21. Camel bit and bridle.

The Ahaggar has famous salt mines in the region called Amadror which lies to the east of the Tafedest massif in a large depression. They are an appreciable resource for the Ihaggaren, but manpower is needed to exploit them. Then, transportation and circulation demand a general state of peace in which the numerous herds of pack camels can be protected from possible surprise attacks and raids. That is why the Amadror salt deposits remained unexploited for a long time before the French occupation, because of the state of perpetual war existing between Ahaggar Tuareg and Tassili Tuareg.

361 When a state of war existed, concealment was a capital necessity
609 easy to understand. By atavism, it seems that they have taken the
[72] habit of always placing themselves in spots where they escape the investigation of indiscreet glances.

361 They set up their tents on valley terraces, and sometimes in a
[132] valley itself, if they do not have to fear the rains, which usually fall at the end of the summer.

221 Because of the need to seek out pastures, camps are continually
361 being moved. They stay from one to two weeks, depending on whether the grass has been revived by rains or whether it is dry. But these moves are never of any great distance, not exceeding seven or eight kilometers. If we take as an example the Dag Rali tribe which nomadizes in the western part of Koudia, we find the camps set up in the high mountain valleys, as high as 2,400 meters altitude, in summer. In winter, on the other hand, they settle on the slopes or in the low parts, seeking places sheltered from the wind. This, of course, is in a normal period of average pasture. But during the summer of 1940, following a long dry period, the Upper Koudia saw a great number of its watering places dry up, and vegetation was nonexistent, so to speak. Therefore, all the nomads took refuge in the low parts of the massif, in the Outoul, Eferer, and I-n-Amegel valleys where water was more abundant and where a trace of pasture still remained. At the beginning of September, the whole massif benefited from abundant rains. A week later, all the tents moved into the mountains in order to use the alpine pastures before winter and to save the lower valley grass for winter.

312 /223/ The watering places of Ătakor are chiefly natural reservoirs (aguelmam) and springs flowing at ground level in the hollows of the valleys. In the middle part, there are mainly rédir (abankor), or little wells, dug less than one meter down in the soil to reach the water layer, which is often retained by rocky sills. These rédir are exhausted in time if rains do not come to renew the water accumulated in the sandy wadi bed. The lower part of the Ahaggar benefits from all the water trickling down from the high mountains

1: Lhote--184 E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

177 In the last few years a number of notables, including the
492 amenokal, travel on horseback, but only when they travel in the
643 Lower Ahaggar which is furrowed by wide valleys, allowing them
133 to avoid rocks.

101 The Ihaggaren never travel on zebus and never use them for
492 transportation. In the Sudan, however, this animal is used as a saddle animal and a beast of burden.

/321/

Chapter 2

War and Raiding

721 The Tuareg distinguish two kinds of warring expeditions: war declared between fractions or peoples, which they call annemensi or amdjer; and raids, edjen or egen, which aim to pillage a camp or a herd by surprise.

Although war was rather rare, raids were, on the contrary, quite frequent. They were caused by the atavistic taste of the Tuareg for this sort of expedition. For the occasion they gathered together the most disparate elements, all moved by the same spirit of adventure and battle.

182 When an expedition against a camp was decided upon, those
221 present tried to gather the suitable number of men. They were
361 most frequent in summer, for, since the camps were forced to
721 spread out in the pastures, it was easier to surprise them.

War, on the other hand, was waged in winter, when the caravans had returned and the provisions necessary for the life of the tribe had been assured for the long months; this relieved the warriors of any material preoccupation about the lot of their families.

727 Each man had to procure arms for himself, and if he did not
426 own his own mehari, he found someone to lend him one; in case
714

727 of captures, however, he had to give half of the captured animals
714 to the lender. In case of failure and death of the camel, he did
426 not have to reimburse him.

721 The men met, discussed the planned expedition, and uttered
726 a ritual formula (narhaī allar) which bound them together for the duration of the expedition, during which time they were to give mutual assistance to one another.

Then they named a chief who was not necessarily an Amajer /sing. of Imochar - Ed./ but a man renowned for his courage, his /322/ suitability, and his experience on expeditions of this kind. Then the group left, preceded by scouts.

726 All baggage was left behind. Everyone mounted on camel back, taking only the bare necessities for the road, for it was necessary to go quite fast and try to keep the animals in good condition. Before sunrise, the raid was already on its way, and the rapid pace was maintained without stopping until evening. The men ate only
[262 a few dates at noon, did not take their siestas, and ate a meal
264] only in the evening -- all was sacrificed to the speed of the march, which was the key to success.

Nearing their goal, the raiders forced their march even more if that were possible, and they often divided into two parties; one was entrusted with seizing the animals and bringing them to a specified point, the other created a diversion in the enemy camps to sidetrack them.

The surprised enemy was attacked with gunshots by a few men
[411] deployed as riflemen, while meharists swooped down on them, hurled their javelins, and then soon came to hand-to-hand fighting. The people who were attacked, for their part, tried to find out the strength of the assailants, and depending on the case they retreated or themselves attacked.

In spite of this martial deployment and the vigor of the attack, these combats were not very deadly, in general, and did not always cause deaths.

721 When raids were led against Sudanese camps, they were as in-
727 terested in the Negroes and Negresses as they were in the camels.
527 The kidnappers kept some of them to serve as servants and sold the others on the markets of In-Salah and the Touat.

726 Once the booty was stolen, the raiders went by forced march to the point agreed upon in advance, where they rejoined the other group of meharists.

The raided people, on the other hand, organized themselves, but they did not try to overtake the raiders immediately and did not wear themselves out in vain pursuit. As the return route of the raiders was known, they tried to reach a well where they had to pass; if they were successful in arriving before them and cutting them off from water, the real combat began, this time fierce and often quite deadly.

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326
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Fig. 55. Tuareg lance. The iron blade is decorated with copper inlays. The part where the hand is put is covered with leather, and a little leather loop placed behind is intended to hold the index finger which gives greater propulsion to the lance when it is thrown.

Hard pressed, the Tuareg formed in a square behind their camels and defended themselves under cover of their bucklers; /323/ when they saw it was impossible to take possession of the well, they abandoned their loot. The battle came to an end, and the raiders were rarely pursued. In the opposite camp, a certain number of men were left as sentries to guard against return offensives, and the others tried to gather up their animals and lead them back to the douar /encampment/.

727 When the raiding party was safe, the men divided up the booty in more or less equal parts, depending on each person's merits during the fight. But in some tribes, customs related to the tioussé demanded

more chivalrous Imochar and a few rare Imrad try to oppose this, but in warlike escapades the Iklan and people with few morals are often more numerous than the others.

Abuses of women always called for vengeance, which the adversaries usually received before long. Acts of this kind were enough to raise up entire tribes against one another. And so, in the Sudan, the exactions of Marabout Abidine's people on the Kel Adrar Tuareg, at the time of the murder of their aménokal Safikroum in 1912, made irreconcilable enemies of these two fractions.

At the beginning of the French occupation, when lieutenants Cottenest and Guilho-Lohan carried out their reconnaissance missions in the Ahaggar, they found women abandoned in the camps by their husbands. The good care which was taken of them made it easier to make peaceful contact later with the Ihaggaren.

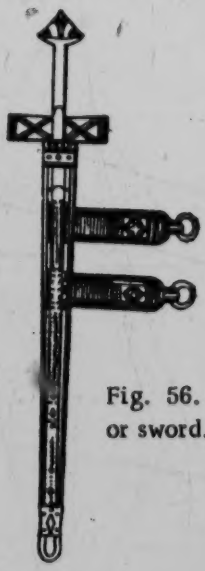

Fig. 56. The tacouba, or sword.

Tuareg weapons include iron lances, javelins with wooden staff, swords, daggers, and a buckler.

/325/ Even before the French occupation the Tuareg knew how to use firearms and possessed a certain number of guns. They were for the most part projectile weapons or archaic models of the

611 patrilineal elements being present together in
121 a single complex from its beginning, and we have no good reason to suppose that this tentative assumption may not be equally applicable to the Tuareg. But we are hedged about with lack of information. We are faced here with yet another instance of the futility of empirical deduction unsupported by adequate field investigation of the culture concepts that lie at the root of our problem.

423 **Land Tenure and Tribute.** The Amenokal of
643 the Ahaggar is said to be "the owner of the land" by virtue of his position as paramount chief of a warrior aristocracy. We are inclined to suspect, however, that this may be an oversimplification of the case, for the land of the various tribes that make up the Ahaggar confederation is apparently treated as basically communal property, the title to which is vested in each succeeding Amenokal as an executive trustee rather than as a proprietor. This brings out the very important point that the Amenokal of the Ahaggar Tuareg seems to be essentially a chief executive and not a true king or autocratic chief in the commonly accepted sense of those terms. And, theoretically at least, he can be forced out of office by popular demand. All things considered, his position is not so very different in fact from
643 that of the President of the United States.
622 The Amenokal and the noble tribal chiefs
565 under him collect tribute from those whose
[651] destinies they control, but they are also supposed to protect these people by force of arms when necessary. When the warriors of a noble
[721] clan go raiding they often take the men of one or more of their vassal clans along, and these vassals receive a substantial share of plunder if the raid is a success, but vassals also have an obligation to fight at the side of their noble masters in intertribal wars.

423 Each vassal clan holds exclusive pasturage
[565] rights to a definite territory upon which no one else may enter, without express permission of the Amenokal, excepting noble clans who are always free to use the pastures of their own vassals as and when they please. Some men also hold exclusive hunting rights to certain specified areas. Many Tuareg own garden plots in agricultural centers, and sometimes date palms and fruit trees of other kinds as well, all of which holdings are now par-

439 and its focus is now strictly local as far as the Tuareg are concerned.

Salt and dates were once traded in the Niger Bend country for camels, sheep, millet and rice, and camels, sheep and goatskins used to be traded to Ghadamès in exchange for swords, richly embroidered cloaks, dates, tea and sugar. Ghadamès is still an important center for the production of metal utensils and occasionally weapons.

439 **Protection.** Aside from their own trading activities, the Tuareg used to control caravan
486 trade in general over a very wide area, and this was the third corner post of their economy. Barth (1857, vol. 1, p. 238), writing a century ago, tells us that in his day the Amenokal of the Ahaggar, Guémama, controlled all trade routes between Mourzouk and Timbuctoo, and it seems likely that this situation already dated back over a considerable period. The Ahaggar Tuareg used to control all trade in the southwestern Sahara as far west as Ouadane and southward into northern Nigeria at least as early as the beginning of the 15th century, but their grip on much of this area, and notably on the salt trade of the southwestern Desert, was broken by the Moroccans at the end of the 16th century, and the Tuareg never seem to have extended it again much beyond Aoulef in the Northwest or southwestward beyond Timbuctoo.

The mechanism of control was based on the furnishing of guides and armed escorts to caravans passing through areas under Tuareg domination, and for these services there was a fairly uniform customary scale of charges based on the estimated value of a caravan's cargo and the reputed wealth of the owners. Caravan leaders sometimes failed to agree on the figure to be paid and proceeded on their own, while big caravans occasionally brought guides and guards along with them and small ones now and then tried to slip through unobserved. The Tuareg, however, succeeded in making such expedients unprofitable in most cases by themselves raiding reluctant customers along the road. Thus a highly profitable protection racket was maintained for several centuries before the period of European domination.

● 721 **Raiding.** The fourth economic corner post of the Ahaggar Tuareg was raiding pure and

721 simple, and this activity can be divided into two main types according to the chief object in view. Raiding for booty was practised irregularly but fairly often, especially in times of hardship or in connection with intertribal feuds. Sneak attacks by small bands who lifted livestock and then promptly fled with it were typical. Slave raiding was practised on a fairly regular basis. In the nomad camps of the 727 Ahaggar the number of Negro domestic servants is usually about equal to the number of Tuareg present, and this labor force used to be replenished when necessary by raids on Negro villages in the desert fringe of the Sudan and occasionally even on Tuareg camps in the Aïr, Tamesna and Adrar n Ifoghas regions. The present writer knows a mulatto freedwoman who was taken in this way from the Aïr some 40 years ago, and has long been happily settled at Tamanrasset; and she is by no means an exception. Thus raiding, the fourth corner post of Tuareg economy in the Ahaggar, was primarily a mechanism designed to keep the supply of livestock, both animal and human, at a satisfactory level in an area where the environment caused a steady normal decrease in the local supply.

Economic Summary. We have seen that pas- 177 toralism was the central column and crop 182 shares, trading, protection and raiding the four corner posts of the economic structure of the Ahaggar Tuareg. With the coming of European domination the last two pillars were kicked away, the third buckled and bent to a mere fraction of its former height, and the roof fell in along three sides and part of the fourth. The Ahaggar Tuareg presumably never lived a life of ease—no pastoralist can in such a rigorous environment—but their greatest perils used to be those of warfare. These dangers have been removed completely by the new European rulers of the area, and yet the Tuareg of the Ahaggar as a whole are undoubtedly in worse economic shape today than they have ever been before. Their old 182 culture, whatever some may think of it on the basis of modern European standards, was remarkably well adapted to conditions in their chosen homeland. The destruction of two of its five main supports and the progressive weakening of a third have thrown their economic structure so seriously out of balance that the whole edifice is obviously doomed,

claim that this blue tint is excellent for the health. As in the Tidikelt, a white garment is not fit to wear until it has been sufficiently tinted blue by contact with "chegga."

The Tuareg value our medicines, "asafar" ⵄⵙⴼⴰ plural "isefran" ⵉⵙⴼⴰⵏ, and believe in their efficacy. This is also due to the fact that they are given to them free, for under no circumstances does the Tuareg like to loosen his purse strings, and he never ceases to beg for anything he sees that he hopes to get for nothing.

However this may be, it is good to note that he comes very willingly to be treated by us. A French doctor would certainly be very well received by the Tuareg.

The most usual diseases among them are fever, "tazzaq" ⵜⴰⵣⵣⴰⵇ, gonorrhea, "talaoaɣt;" rheumatism, "tessemdhi" ⵜⵙⵙⵎⴷⵉ; and headaches, "tekmou-n-ir'ef" ⵜⴽⵎⵓⵏⵉⵔⴼ.

Chapter XVII

Negroes and Negresses

There is no Tuareg tent which has not at least its negro and negress. The frequent raids that the Ahaggar made in the Niger and in the Sudan procured them all the slaves they have.

They devoted themselves greatly to the Negro trade, which brought them fine profits since they had only to take the negroes without expense.

The conquest of the Sudan and the Saharan Oases gave them a terrible blow from that standpoint. Besides, with the progressive pacification of their territory and that of the neighboring tribes subject to them, they would soon have to renounce all hope of new raids, and one may say that the Negro trade, if not entirely destroyed, will at least be considerably diminished.

I saw a camp of Iouarouaren (an imr'ad fraction of the Taïtoq tobol), established near the tents of Taïtoq nobles, move in order to settle farther away. They had come from the Tidikelt with dates and other produce, and the noble women were continually coming to beg something at the imr'ad camp. So their chief In Chikadh gave the signal to leave and said that this was in order to put an end to the importunities of the nobles. /55/

Chapter V

The Raid. The Loot. Its Restitution

The raid is the life of the Tuareg. He needs it. Here it is that he, the noble especially, seeks part of his means of subsistence. The favorite raids used to be those made against the Sudan, the Aïr, and the Niger, because of the negros and negresses who were captured. But the Tuareg is well aware now that French authority surrounds him on all sides, to the north and to the south, and that that system has ended. This is one of the reasons that make him regret his surrender.

The Chaâmba were as predatory and as independent as the Tuareg. They also raided continually. Since their surrender, it is known what a considerable change has taken place, and we have every reason to believe that this will happen among the Tuareg under our influence.

Usually when a tribe has been raided, unless a state of war has been declared, it sends a deputation, a "miaâd," to demand from the djemaâ of the raiding tribe the loot which was taken from them. The envoys must make their mounts kneel before the tents of the notables of the djemaâ and beg for restitution.

As a rule, an amicable solution is finally reached, but the part of the loot which is returned to the deputation is always far less than that which was taken. The Tuareg say, "Alaï ouala," that is, "the restitution is never complete."

It may also happen that the raiders refuse to return anything. The raided tribe, if it considers itself too weak, solicits the support of another tribe with which it has good relations, and then there is fighting. /56/

[411]

Dautheville
Tuareg Shield

When caravans of traders have been raided, since these caravans have usually placed themselves under the protection of noble tribes to which they pay dues, the controversy is settled between the protecting tribe and the raiders' tribe.

In the Ahaggar it seems that the old amenokal, Aïtar'el, established the restitution of loot taken from caravans protected by the Azdjer in the following manner:

1. Complete restitution of the pack camels taken from the caravans
2. For each load of merchandise taken, one "amadjour" camel for each man who took part in the raid and rode a mehari of his own
3. One "aleggues" (a young camel of three years) or a half-grown camel for each man who borrowed or hired the mehari which he rode in the raid.

The arms of a Tuareg and the harness for his mount have been described in detail by Duveyrier, and there is no need to review them here. /57/

Chapter Vi

War

This is a big word to use for a series of fights, raids, and 721
battles without great losses, but I still cannot find another to describe, for example, the struggle which engaged the two confederations of the Azdjer and of the Ahaggar and which lasted almost three years, with long intermissions.

No description could give a more accurate idea of it than the detailed account of this struggle which was told to me and which may be read later in the chapter dealing with the history of the Ahaggar /not translated/.

Chapter VII

Religion. Marabouts. The Fast. Religious Orders

The Tuareg, taken as a whole, are not at all religious. 779
This is due first to the fact that almost none know Arabic and 771
consequently the Koran, which may not be translated. Be- 795
sides, it is known that the Tuareg, like all Berbers, espoused the doctrines of Kharijism in the eighth and ninth centuries of our era, and that it has taken a long time to guide them back to orthodoxy.

During this period, Salih, son of Tarif, put out a Koran in 795
the Berber language, which was destroyed at the time of the 797
repression, and we will see that the Tuareg have kept among their superstitions "survivals" of the teachings of this Salih.

An example will illustrate well the present state of mind of the Tuareg from the religious point of view: /58/

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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634 727 particular case is related of a group of Ioullemmeden Tuareg attacking a camp of Kel Ferouan vassals who made a counterattack and won the battle. They made four prisoners and took as booty two horses and several riding camels (unknown how many). As his part the drum-chief took one horse and five camels. But he also took the four prisoners to his camp. He kept them there for about a month, then they were released, dressed in new clothes, and mounted on excellent riding camels with good saddles.

[565] [721] 3) *Ekachchadi*, that is booty taken by vassals during raids carried out without the permission of their drum-chief. In this case the drum-chief would take all booty for himself and leave nothing for the vassals who were not allowed to engage in warfare on their own account – unless attacked by foreign raiders.

634 651 565 The drum-chief had other income from his subjects who paid him an annual fee termed *sadaka*. This fee, it is said, was paid not only by vassals but also by noble households of the Kel Azel clan. The sadaka fees were collected on behalf of the drum-chief by people of the Echchikhen and by negroid blacksmiths, who form a particular and rather numerous caste. There were definite rules for the payment of sadaka. It was computed from the size of herds and flocks of all domestic animals with the exception of donkeys for which no payment was made. As an example can here be mentioned the payments for camel herds:–

Size of Herd.	*Sada a.*
10 camels	2 goats
15 camels	3 goats
25 camels	1 young camel
50 camels	1 full-grown camel
100 camels	2 full-grown camels.

[735] The Echchikhen and the blacksmiths took the sadaka animals to the drum-chief. He gave some of them to the collectors who were themselves exempted from taxation. The bulk of the animals was sold at the market of Agadez and most of the proceeds given to poor people by the drum-chief, who would keep a small part for himself.

634 692 The drum-chief had the supreme jurisdiction over his group. In all internal matters the drum-chief and not the Sultan was the supreme judge. In difficult cases he would consult Islamic jurists of Agadez or the Echchikhen. All members of the Kel Ferouan group could be fined by the drum-chief and indemnities *(edeiet)* were then given to the chief. In case of murder the killed person's kinsmen had the right of blood-revenge to which the drum-chief could make no objection. But if the family of the person killed consented, the drum-chief could take all livestock from the murderer and pass it over to the children of the slain man whose kin in that case lost their right of revenge. Apparently there has never been any fixed size of blood-wealth among the Kel Ferouan Tuareg in contrast to the two

682 696 184 682

Groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab Tribes of The Sahara.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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[685] Nowadays the price is determined by the Amenokal. When a tenant dies his rights
428 and obligations should ideally be taken over by a maternal kinsmen. Traditionally
614 the usufructs of a sub-area are reserved for people of the same matrilineage or section as the tenant, but should the tenant be identical with the chief of the whole clan they belong to all clan members. These traditional rules, however, do not
[178] seem to be observed very strictly nowadays except for hunting of barbary sheep in certain areas. Lhote is wrong in stating that the chief of the clan has the right
114 to forbid grazing and protect pastures in the whole clan territory (Lhote 1955, p.
L 423 279). In the two clans here described this right is invariably vested in the tenants of sub-areas.

643 As the supreme judge of his drum-group the Amenokal can claim various
692 indemnities *(ediet)* among which have just been mentioned those paid for violation of the rights of his land-tenants. In case of adultery, for instance, the Amenokal can
[684] claim three camels from the seducer and one camel from the unfaithful wife. If a man catches his wife committing adultery he has the right to kill her as well as the seducer on the spot, and formerly the families of persons thus killed had no right
682 to revenge or blood-wealth. Neither was blood-wealth paid in case of murder
628 within the clan, but the Amenokal might then claim an indemnity from the murder-
692 er. When the murderer and the person killed were from different clans, blood-
643 wealth had to be paid to the family of the slain man by the kinsmen of the murderer. The Amenokal could not deny his subjects the right of revenge if they refused to accept blood-wealth, and if blood-wealth was paid he had no right to any part from it. Blood-wealth was fixed at one hundred she-camels for a slain man and fifty she-camels for a woman, but it may be doubted whether so many camels were
[648] ever paid. Revenge and blood-wealth have been abolished by the French admin-
692 istration which has given the Amenokal more power over his subjects than he had
178 in the past. To-day the authority of the Amenokal is almost unlimited. If, for
643 instance, a man will not allow his son to marry the woman he likes, the son may go to the Amenokal and ask him whether he considers the marriage suitable, and if
[584] the Amenokal agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different clans continues to live together with people of his father's
[59] clan after his father's death, the chief of his mother's clan may complain to the Amenokal, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the Amenokal can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice.

643 In the past the Tuareg of the Kel Rela drum-group are said frequently to have shown disobedient to the Amenokal. But the vassals would generally support him
[701] when he organized raids against other Tuareg as the war-leader of the Kel Rela
[727] group. The Amenokal had the right to a tribute named *abellag* comprising half of all booty taken by vassals of his drum-group. The vassals were allowed to engage
[721] in raiding without his consent, but he was the one who decided on war and large-
scale raiding.

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565 The noble Tuareg may ask vassals to render them minor services as, for instance,
651 to guard domestic animals or to look for animals lost in the desert, and one noble Tuareg told me that he had camels guarded by vassals; this was also practiced in the past. But nowadays the noble Tuareg have no rights over their vassals. The
[178] vassals may refuse any gift or service demanded by noble Tuareg, and there are
[789] even noble Tuareg who wear amulettes which are believed to induce vassals to give the things wanted.

565 It is evident that it was very profitable for noble Tuareg to have vassals, but these had also many advantages from their relation to noble masters. The nobility
[721] formed a particular class of warriors and raiders who were constantly roaming the country looking for enemies. They protected the caravan roads, and allowed the vassals to use their camels on trading expeditions. The noble Tuareg would also
[422] leave a surplus of their livestock among the vassals who had usufructs of these animals.

The master of a temażlait-relation might ask his vassals to follow him on raids, but he could not summon them for warfare. This right belonged exclusively to the
[643] Amenokal, who would also receive *abellag* or half of the booty taken by all vassals
[727] of his drum-group. It is interesting to note, however, that if vassals borrowed for
[426] raiding riding camels from their noble masters, the latter received a tribute also known as *abellag*, comprising half of the booty left when one half had already been given to the Amenokal. The temażlait-masters were apparently without any judicial
[692] authority, which rested in the hands of the Amenokal. We may say that the smaller units within the drum-group – the temażlait-relations – were predominantly economic units, but structurally they had traits in common with the political unit, the drum-group.

The Origin of Tuareg Political Systems.

565 This concluding chapter on the origin of Tuareg political systems can adequately
192 open with an analysis of the terms for the classes here referred to as noble and vassal Tuareg.

In Air as well as in other Southern Tuareg groups all Tuareg whatever their social status, are sometimes known as *Imacheren* (sing. *Amacher*), but correctly this word should be used only for Tuareg of the noble class. Nicolas says that the word refers to such qualities as "vaillance" and "bravade" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 188f.). In Northern Tuareg dialect the equivalent word is *Imohar* (sing. *Amahar*). It is used for both noble and vassal Tuareg, and is probably derived from the verb *ahr* meaning "to raid" or "to plunder" (Duveyrier 1864, p. 318. – Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 665–674. – Prasse 1959, p. 200). Among the Northern Tuareg it may originally have been used for "noble Tuareg", who nowadays both in Ahaggar and in Tassili-n-Ajjer are known as *Ihaggaren* (sing. *Ahaggar*). It is very possible that this latter word is identical with *Hoouara* – a common name for several Berber tribes

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
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Ahaggar
Air

dominating an extensive area of North Africa and particularly in Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and adjacent regions before the Arab invasion of the 11th century A.D. This theory was set forth already by Ibn Khaldoun, who says that *Hoouara* has changed into *Hegga* (Ibn Khaldoun I, p. 275f.). Nicolas has stated as his opinion that this theory has no other foundation but mere speculation (Nicolas 1933, p. 14). This, however, is not correct as the relationship between the words can be explained on linguistic grounds as claimed by Foucauld. For the letter *ou* when redoubled will as a rule change into *gg*, and *ou* very frequently permutes with *g* (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 533).

The term used in Air for vassal Tuareg is *Imrad* (sing. *Amrid*), a word which seems to be known to all Tuareg. Foucauld gives no particular explanation of its meaning (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1239f.). Nicolas claims the word related to *erid*, literally meaning "a kid" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 189). If this explanation given by Nicolas is correct, *Imrad* refers to goat-breeding. So does another term for vassals used more frequently among the Northern Tuareg and the Ioullemmeden, namely *Kel Oulli* (sing. *Agg Oulli*), which means literally "the goat people". In Air this word is never used as a term for the vassal class, but only as a proper name for one particular vassal clan attached to the Ikaskazan.

One of the terms for vassals and maybe both terms are thus connected with goat-breeding, while one of the terms for noble Tuareg seems to refer to raiding, which among the Tuareg was intimately connected with camel-breeding. Camels were not only the means by which raiding was carried out, but they were also the main object of raiding expeditions as they could be abducted very quickly from foreign camps. So we may perhaps see from some of the terms used for vassal and noble Tuareg that the two classes originated from the meeting of two distinct cultures, a goat-breeding and a camel-breeding culture. And we have already seen that in the past the noble Tuareg of Ahaggar were in particular camel-breeders, the vassals breeders of goats and donkeys.

The Ahaggar Tuareg – in contrast to the Tuareg of Air – have traditions about the origin of the class system. References to these traditions are common in literature (Benhazera 1908, p. 89ff. – Reygasse 1950, p. 88. – Foucauld 1951 – 52, II, p. 533ff. – Lhote 1955, p. 215ff. – Nicolaisen 1954, p. 99f.). There are in fact two conflicting traditions, but some Tuareg will nevertheless acknowledge both. It seems, however, as if one tradition had its origin among the nobility, the other among vassals. The tradition which originated in the noble class says that the dominant noble clans of Ahaggar had a woman named Ti-n-Hinan as their ancestress. She immigrated to Ahaggar from Tafilelt in Morocco together with her servant girl named Takama, who became the ancestress of the oldest vassal clans (the Dag Rali and the Ait Loaien). The two women were both Islamic and belonged to the Beraber tribes. They found the country uninhabited except for the higher parts of the massif, where a pagan people named the Isebeten lived. This tradition

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Fig. 46. A resting she-camel with the colour name *tawinek*. The colour term of the young she-camel standing in the back-ground is *tenik*. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

In Ayr the Tuareg do not use camel's hide in their crafts, but give it to the blacksmiths who use it for lashing, or to people who manufacture beds from ribs of palm leaves (cf. Fig. 257). The Northern Tuareg use camel-skin for the manufacture of a few household implements and also use it for lashing (cf. p. 84, 110, 222, 270 f. & Figs. 70, 86, 132a–b, 161a–d, 162, 213). But even in Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer the skin of camels is little used compared with the skin of goats, sheep, and barbary sheep.

When employed in craft, camel's hide is normally used raw and unprepared after soaking in water, but the Ahaggar Tuareg say that for certain purposes the hide is treated with salt. In literature there are many statements about the tanning of camel's hide. Thus it is stated by Cauvet that the hide is tanned with plant material in Algeria, and Cauvet also quotes Duveyrier's statement that the Northern Tuareg tan camel's hide to use it for tents and various other implements (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 714 ff.). I very much doubt the correctness of this, as all Tuareg asked about it have stated that the hide of camels is not fitted for proper tanning. Camel's hide is therefore of very limited use to the Tuareg, and the same is the case with camel's hair or wool. Tuareg camels in Ayr have very little wool, and among the Northern Tuareg most animals have less wool than Arab camels of the Northern Sahara. The Northern Tuareg pluck a little wool with the hands or cut it off with a knife. It is spun into cords to be used for certain minor objects, notably for the manufacture of the plaited pouch (*abegu*) to prevent the suckling of calves (p. 62, Fig. 41) and for the particular cord (*asayus*) tied around the foreleg of camels to keep them in a reclining position (p. 72, Fig. 45a). Mixed with goat's hair the wool is also used for a kind of primitive weaving (p. 265 ff., Figs. 209a–b).

Camels are very important to the Tuareg as pack-animals for the caravan expeditions which will be mentioned in a later chapter when other means of subsistence have been described.

In the past camels were also extremely valuable as riding animals on raiding expeditions which

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*233
283
*492

Fig. 47. The *akalo* rope noosed around the lower jaw of a pack-camel and prevented from loosening by the insertion of a small stick. Ayr, *Kel Fersuu* Tuareg.

*492 ● 721 played an important part for all Tuareg. Raiding expeditions were carried out to gain all kinds of booty, but camels were the main objective, and it was difficult to carry off other kinds of domestic animals over long distances. Thus camels were the main cause of raiding and also the means by which 721 raiding expeditions were carried out. In Ahaggar large scale raiding stopped long ago with the advent 175 of the French at the beginning of our century, though it recovered again during the revolt of 1916–17. This was also true of Ayr, but it seems as if raiding in and around this Massif continued still later 685 (cf. Rodd 1926a, p. 187 ff. & Buchanan 1921, p. 209 ff.). Nowadays raiding has ceased everywhere among the Tuareg, but theft of camels has been on the increase in the south. There are many camel thieves among the Ayr Tuareg, for it is very easy to steal grazing camels during the night and to lead them to some distant market and sell them. The Tuareg claim that in pre-European times there were [640] hardly any camel thieves in Ayr as such persons were punished very severely. They say that the theft of camels became normal with the French who have great difficulty in proving the guilt of thieves.

[text continues on p. 70]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg M525

those of Tasilé-n-Ajjer and the *Kel Geres*. I have been informed by *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg of the *Kel Dennek* group, whom I met in Ayr, that they live on millet to much the same extent as the Ayr Tuareg, and that some of them have gardens cultivated by negroid agriculturists. For the *Kel Dennek* it is expressively stated by Nicolas that they cannot live on milk, that they kill comparatively few of their animals, and that they largely live on cereals obtained not only by collecting. Some of the Tuareg mentioned by Nicolas are described as semi-nomads (Nicolas 1950a, p. 145 ff.). Among the Southern Tuareg living further west in the Sudanese savannahs (the *Iwillemmeden Kel Ataram*), agricultural products are very important to the pastoralists who may possess gardens along the banks of the Niger, these gardens being cultivated by the *Bélla* (Aymard 1911, p. 117; Miner 1953, p. 60 ff.).

Nowadays there are no Tuareg who subsist without agricultural products, a few of them (the *Kel Ajjer*) practise a primitive type of agriculture in the river valleys, and within all groups there seem to be Tuareg who have turned to irrigation farming as their most important occupation. In the following section I discuss briefly the subject of Tuareg economy in the past.

TUAREG ECONOMY IN THE PAST

Tuareg culture was not profoundly altered by the advent of European military administration around the beginning of the present century. Their traditional material culture has persisted largely unchanged up to the present day. The major change has been the abolition of warfare and consequently the break-down of the traditional political system, but the abolition of warfare also led to important changes in the organization of caravan trading.

Raiding expeditions were carried out in some Tuareg groups even after the arrival of the Europeans, who established small garrisons in the oases and had camel patrols roaming the country as they have nowadays. Buchanan thus describes a raid carried out by Ahaggar Tuareg against the Ayr village of Timia in the year 1920 (Buchanan 1921, p. 207 ff.), and raids have not been entirely unknown in Ayr even later, though the raiders have then been severely handicapped by the establishment of the French wireless stations which enabled the camel patrols of different areas to communicate with each other (Rodd 1926a, p. 188). Raiding have nowadays stopped, but before the European penetration and conquest it was so to speak an industry to be mentioned with other subsistence activities.

The Ahaggar Tuareg were known as prominent raiders and warriors in the past. The two dominent chiefdoms within the group of Ahaggar Tuareg, the *Kel Rela* and the *Taytok*, frequently raided the *Iwillemmeden* Tuareg and the Arabs living north of Timbuktu, as these southern pastoralists were very rich in livestock and in slaves. Some of these Tuareg and Arabs even paid fixed dues to chiefs of the *Kel Rela* and the *Taytok* in order that they should not be raided by Tuareg of these groups. However, these annual payments did not safeguard against raiding (cf. p. 401 f.). It seems as if the south-bound raiding expeditions were mainly profitable to the Ahaggar Tuareg, who could not so easily be raided in return by the Southern Tuareg. The Ahaggar Tuareg also raided other neighbouring pastoralists such as the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and the powerful Arab tribe *Ulad Ba Hammu* with whom they had frequent and very serious quarrels; these people raided the Ahaggar Tuareg in return. It can be

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added that wars were not confirmed to fighting between these large political groups, for there was also fighting within these groups at intervals.

The Ayr Tuareg had as their main enemies the Tebu, the Eastern *Iwllemmeden* and the Arab pastoralists of the Tawa district. In Ayr there were also sharp disputes between various drum-groups of the Ayr federation, notably between the *Kel Ferwan* and the *Kel Faday*. The *Kel Faday* Tuareg frequently joined forces with the *Kel Dennek* in fighting the *Kel Ferwan*.

Throughout the 19th century there was a risk of severe trouble everywhere in the Sahara with adjacent regions, but caravan trading was most important to Tuareg subsistence at that period in spite of these latent conditions of hostility.

Great caravans then crossed the desert carrying gold, ivory, ostrich feathers, and slaves from the Sudan to the Mediterranean, and south-bound caravans traded with salt and Arab and European goods. The Tuareg had their important part in these large trading expeditions, and they traded with their surplus of livestock and stock-breeding products much in the same way as they do nowadays. They acquired dates and millet from the sedentary farmers who were in constant need of meat, butter, cheese, and the like.

The organization of caravan trading among the Ahaggar Tuareg was different in the past. To-day the normal trading units are tribal sections, and this was probably also true in pre-European times, but these trading units did not travel independently as they do nowadays. Several tribes of the same drum-group travelled together under the leadership of a noble Tuareg of the dominant tribe of their chiefdom. When the Ahaggar Tuareg had no severe disputes with the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* who dominated the Tidikelt oases, they traded with their population of sedentary farmers much as they do nowadays. They brought livestock, butter, dried meat, and Sudanese goods which were bartered for dates and Arab goods. The Ahaggar Tuareg also traded southwards, but they say that they did not go further south than Agadez, as it was considered dangerous to penetrate too far into the Sudan. They also say that they did not trade with salt until a few years before the arrival of the French, and that the important trading object before that time were donkeys, of which there was a shortage in Ayr. All this seems to agree with Duveyrier's statement that the salt deposits of Amadror were not utilized in his time owing to insecurity, though he says that the deposits situated on the caravan road from Wargla to Agadez had formerly been mined (Duveyrier 1864, p. 143 f.). As to the caravan trade of the Ayr Tuareg, I believe that it was very much as it is nowadays, comprising trading expeditions to the millet-growing Sudan and to the Bilma oasis. It is most possible that the Ayr Tuareg also then travelled in larger units to protect themselves and their goods, for the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that in the past camps were always bigger than to-day, as a camp consisting only of three to five tents could not defend itself against raiders.

It is known that the slave trade was carried on until the arrival of Europeans and in certain parts of the Sahara even later. Both the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Ayr* claim that they engaged in slave trading until it was abolished by the French authorities. However, it seems as if the Tuareg never engaged in this trade to the same extent as the Arabs. This is stated by Bissuel in regard to the Tuareg of Ahnet who bought their slaves from the market of Timbuktu. In general they kept these slaves for their own use, in contrast to the Arabs of Tidikelt who traded with slaves on a very large scale (Bissuel

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

had five vassal tribes, and the *Imanṛasaten* only three. Four tribes were divided between the *Uraṛen* and the *Imenan*, and one vassal tribe was divided between all three noble tribes.

The *Imenan* in Duveyrier's days comprised only five men who lived like sedentary Arabs at Ganet and Rat; they held the titles of *Imenukalen*, and their chief was "*the Amenukal*" who still possessed the drum (*ettebel*) as the symbol of his former power. But the *Imenan* had no political power, and Duveyrier says that they were not allowed to summon their vassals to war. The true political leader of the *Kel Ajjer* was the chief of the *Uraṛen* with the title of *Amṛar*, but he was not the most important person. The practical leader of all Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer was the famous Tuareg known as *Akhenukhen*, whom Duveyrier called *Emir*. He had not accepted the position as *Amṛar* because this would have obliged him to give up his nomadic life and take up residence in a house. *Akhenukhen* held the supreme political and judical authority not only over the particular vassals of the *Uraṛen*, for all Ajjer Tuareg also submitted to his orders. However, we know from Duveyrier's description that the other noble tribes had the right to engage in raiding expeditions on their own behalf supported by their individual vassals, and it was not always easy for *Akhenukhen* to keep order. However, as leader of the bulk of the vassal tribes which were loyal to their master, he could retain the dominant position of the *Uraṛen* tribe, and in difficult judical problems he was aided and supported by the religious leaders of the *Iforas* group.

The noble tribes of the *Kel Ajjer* were subdivided into tribal sections which had their particular vassals. It seems as if this division of vassalage was primarily an economic one. Thus the chief of the *Uraṛen* possessed the supreme political authority over all vassals attached to his tribe though he only had particular economic rights over part of them (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff. & Dubief 1956, p. 87). I revert to these important features of political systems among the Northern Tuareg in a more detailed account of political relations in Ahaggar.

KEL AHAGGAR

The Ahaggar Tuareg became politically independent in the 17th century when the supreme chief *Guma* of the *Imenan* was killed and the power over the *Kel Ajjer* passed into the hands of the *Uraṛen*. The Ahaggar Tuareg may even then have obtained their own supreme chief, but we know almost nothing about this early period. The supreme chiefs of the Ahaggar Tuareg, who have the title of *Amenukal*, are known as far back as to about 1750 when the ruler was *Sidi ag Mokhammed el Khir*. During his reign the Ahaggar Tuareg became divided into three major groups centering around the noble tribes known as *Kel Rela*, *Taytoḳ*, and *Tégehé Mellet*. These tribes divided the vassals between them. The *Taytoḳ* and the *Kel Rela* until then formed one single tribe, and their members even to-day claim to be matrilineally related as *ara-n-tañatin*, that is "persons descending from sisters", for the ancestress of the *Kel Rela*, by name *Kella*, and the ancestress of the *Taytoḳ*, whose name was *Sakina*, were in fact maternal cousins (cf. p. 140). The third noble tribe, *Tégehé Mellet*, to which vassals were allotted, is said to descend patrilineally from Arabs – perhaps from the *Chamba*. There were two other noble tribes among the Ahaggar Tuareg at this early date. One of them known

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him a similar payment for protection. In spite of these annual tributes foreign Tuareg groups were frequently raided by the Ahaggar Tuareg. If foreign groups paying *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal* were raided by people of his drum-group, the *Amenukal* had the right to a tribute named *emehet* which according to Foucauld corresponded to about one third of the booty taken, and this payment should be made by all raiders, whether nobles or vassals. But raiders who were vassals of the *Amenukal*'s drum-group should also give him half of the booty left when one third had been given. If the foreign group raided complained to the *Amenukal* to whom they paid *tiwsé* for protection, he might return some of the animals taken, but never all (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347 f.).

The drum-group (*ettebel*) was the most important political unit among the Ahaggar Tuareg. The federation (*tégehé*) was for long periods split into quarrelling drum-groups. We have seen that quarrels might occur even within a drum-group which nevertheless remained a stable unit.

It seems as if the stability of a drum-group was partly maintained by means of a joking relationship (*tehandezzit*) between people of different classes. However, within the *Kel Rela* drum-group there were tribes the members of which did not engage much in joking of this kind, and this was and is true notably of the *Dag Rali* tribe which is considered one of the oldest vassal tribes in Ahaggar. People of the *Dag Rali* to-day have no joking relationships with anyone beyond cross-cousins and brothers and sisters-in-law (cf. p. 454 f., 465 ff.). Most other tribes within the *Kel Rela* drum-group joke with the tribes of the *Isekkemaren* class. The word "*Isekkemaren*" means literally "people who lie down upon the elbow supporting their head against the hand." People of this particular class is considered a kind of superior vassals because they are attached to no other noble Tuareg but their drum-chief. But nowadays, as in the past, they are spoken of disparagingly by both noble Tuareg and true vassals, who say that the *Isekkemaren* in the past did not engage in warfare and raiding expeditions, and that these Tuareg are on the whole very weak. Most noble Tuareg and vassals will joke with the *Isekkemaren*, and there is a particular strong joking relationship between the vassal tribe *Aguh-en-tehlé* and the *Isekkemaren* tribes. Such joking relationships are functionally related to joking relationships between relatives and in-laws and a fixed gift-exchange is observed between *Aguh-en-tehlé* Tuareg and *Isekkemaren* Tuareg when they visit each other. When the *Aguh-en-tehlé* Tuareg come to the *Isekkemaren* they must receive dates, while meat must be given to the *Isekkemaren* visiting the *Aguh-en-tehlé*. The *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe has the most intense joking relationship to the noble *Kel Rela* Tuareg of all vassals. These vassals and the noble *Kel Rela* engage in sham-fights (*tebillant*) exactly in the same way as cross-cousins. This intense joking relationship between the *Kel Rela* and the vassal *Aguh-en-tehlé* should probably be explained in the light of the fact that the latter tribe was incorporated into the *Kel Rela* drum-group more recently than most other vassals.

The different Tuareg classes do not generally intermarry. There are very few marriages between *Isekkemaren* and *Kel Ulli* vassals, though love-making between them is common and facilitated by their mutual joking relationship. This is true particularly for certain *Isekkemaren* tribes (*Iheyawen Hada, Kel Tazulet*) and the *Aguh-en-tehlé tribe*. Wedding feasts in these *Isekkemaren* tribes are most popular with young men of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* who are free to make love to the *Isekkemaren* girls. Between noble Tuareg and vassals of the *Kel Rela* drum-group there were in the past very few marriages, if any, while this was not so in the *Taytok* drum-group, where marriages were contracted between

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noble Tuareg and vassals. It would seem as if these mixed marriages had a political function as they served to reinforce the solidarity within the drum-group in view of its opposition to the *Kel Rela* drum-group and the *Amenukal*. In consequence of these marriages the political relations between noble Tuareg and vassals of the *Taytoḳ* drum-group was in the past much influenced by rules of kinship behaviour, and the payments due to the drum-chief from vassals were less comprehensive than in the *Kel Rela* drum-group.

The Kel Rela drum-group was divided into minor relationships between noble Tuareg and vassals. These relationships were known as *temazlayt*, that is literally "the root of the nail". They have almost ceased to exist, and consequently they are very difficult to describe. However, it is possible to outline their organization and main functions. They were structurally akin to the drum-group, as they were matrilineally organized. A noble Tuareg who had rights over certain vassals would be succeeded by a maternal kinsman, and in a group of vassals right and obligations would equally follow matrilineal rules. A *temazlayt* relationship was a relationship between a small noble matrilineage with a particular leader and a larger matrilineage of vassals of the *Kel Ulli* or *Imrad* class. The noble matrilineage that was attached to a definite group of vassals would not necessarily correspond with the matrilineal core within a section, for there were comparatively many noble Tuareg in the *Kel Rela* tribe who were leaders of *temazlayt* groups. This is shown by Benhazera's investigations, which took place at a time when the ancient political system of the Ahaggar Tuareg still retained most of its traditional functions. At that time there were at least ten noble Tuareg who were commanders of *temazlayt* groups (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 139 ff.).

There are certain traces of *temazlayt* organizations even to-day. The token of this relationship is the payment of an annual due known as *tiwsé* from a group of vassals to the *temazlayt* master.

Apparently some vassals who made *tiwsé* payments to a noble *temazlayt* master did not make this payment also to their drum-chief (the *Amenukal*). Thus to-day the *Ayt Lowayen* tribe makes an annual *tiwsé* payment to *Muḥli agg Amayas* of the *Kel Rela* section named *Inembo Ḳel-Emeyri*, but gives no *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal Bay*, who belongs to the *Iboglan* section of the same tribe, though the land-rent (*ékhiri-n-emadal*) is always paid to the *Amenukal*. I was also told by the *Kel Rela Khalifa* of Tamesna, who belonged to the *Iboglan* section, that he had the right to collect the *tiwsé* payment from the *Isandan* sub-tribe of the *Aḏuh-en-tehlé*, but as he was now living outside of Ahaggar this payment was made by the *Isandan* to the *Amenukal*. However, I believe that in the past most vassals of the *Kel Ulli* or *Imrad* class made *tiwsé* payments both to their individual *temazlayt* masters and to the *Amenukal*. This would also seem to be in agreement with Foucauld's description of *temazlayt* relations (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, IV, p. 1965).

A noble *temazlayt* master had no judicial authority over his individual vassals, and could not summon them to war and raiding against their will. These rights belonged to the drum-chief, consequently in the *Kel Rela* group, to the *Amenukal*. The obligations of a noble *temazlayt* master towards his vassals were mainly to protect them against raids by and exploitation of other noble Tuareg who formed a class of warriors and raiders roaming the country for enemies and for booty. A *temazlayt* master had the right to organize raids with the support of his vassals, if they were interested, and the vassals were also allowed to carry out raids on their own behalf, but in both cases half of the booty (*ahellaj*) taken by

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vassals was given to the drum-chief (the *Amenukal*) and not to the *temaẓlayt* master. However, should a vassal Tuareg have borrowed for raiding a riding camel from his *temaẓlayt* master or another noble Tuareg, they received a tribute also known as *abellag*, comprising half of the booty remaining when one half had been given to the *Amenukal*.

The noble Tuareg possessed many advantages over their individual vassals. They could apparently claim almost what they wanted for their subsistence, and frequently camped close to their vassals who then were obliged to feed them, and when in need of riding camels the noble Tuareg could freely take such animals from their vassals (Duveyrier 1864, p. 334 ff.). Similar information is given by Benhazera, but he states that the vassals in the past would not necessarily supply everything demanded by their noble lords (Benhazera 1908, p. 54). The vassals were under a particular obligation to provide the noble Tuareg with goat-breeding products, and if they had milk yielding she-camels the noble Tuareg could claim these animals until milk-yielding stopped. But the vassals had also many advantages from the *temaẓlayt* relationships. They were not only protected by their lords. The noble Tuareg would leave behind the animals they could not take with them when roaming in the desert, and noble Tuareg never had much livestock with them in their camps. It was also of great importance to the vassals that they could use their masters camels for caravan trading. On the whole the system was not exclusively the exploitation of vassals by the noble Tuareg, and it can be added that the vassal Tuareg were always more numerous than the noble Tuareg, that the drum-chief (the *Amenukal*) was elected by the vassals, and that he alone had judicial rights. The system was one of give and take to both classes involved, and there can be little doubt that it was well adapted to practical ecological conditions.

In Ahaggar, camels and goats are very complementary to each other. The camel supplies the Tuareg with milk, but with very few other products, and the Tuareg cannot always get milk from their she-camels which yield very little when pastures are dry. When grazing is good, camel's milk is important as food, but it is not well-fitted for churning butter, and cannot be used for cheese. Camels are occasionally killed, but as their meat is not very suitable for drying, the Ahaggar Tuareg kill camels to utilize their meat only when many people congregate, as for instance at a marriage. Camel's hide is not very important in Tuareg craft, for tanning is not practised, and Tuareg camels have little hair which is used only for the manufacture of a few insignificant objects. To most Ahaggar Tuareg the camels have little direct economic value. But for raiding in the past, camels were very valuable riding animals, and were then, as now, extremely important for caravan trading which provides the Tuareg with most of their vegetable food.

The economic rôle of goat-breeding is very different. Goat-products play a very comprehensive part in Tuareg nourishment. Goat's milk is not only drunk, but is also made into butter and cheese which can easily be stored. Goat's meat is superior to camel's meat, and one goat does not contain more meat than can be eaten quickly by the members of a normal household. Furthermore, goats are very important in Tuareg craft; tents, waterbags, and containers for different sorts of liquid and solid food are made predominantly from their skin, which was formerly also employed for whole garments. Goat's hair is extremely useful as material for ropes with which domestic animals are tethered, camel-loads are fastened, and the like.

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livestock of a murderer in reality was the property of the drum-chief. Apparently there has never been any fixed size of blood-wealth among the *Kel Ferwan* in contrast to the two groups of Northern Tuareg and Arab tribes of the Sahara.

The token of vassalage among the *Kel Ferwan* was the payment of half of the bride-wealth to the noble lords so that the drum-chief received bride-wealth from his particular group of vassals, the chief of the *Kel Azel* from his group. The two noble lords received other payments from their vassals. They would inherit a camel on the death of an individual vassal, and they received certain annual payments known as *sadakat* or *tamesodek*. This fee in its origin was a relipious one, and certain tribes such as the *Imezzureg*, the *Kel Akerra*, and the *Isakaranan* claim that in the past, as nowadays, they made this payment to the *Ineslemen* Tuareg and not to the noble chiefs. But true vassal tribes gave their *sadakat* or *tamesodek* to the two noble lords. The fees were collected on behalf of the lords by people of the *Echchikhen* and by negroid blacksmiths, who are very numerous in Ayr. There were definite rules for the payment of the *sadakat* fees which were computed from the size of herds and flocks of all domestic animals with the exception of donkeys for which no payment was made. As an example the payments for camel herds can here be mentioned:—

Size of herd	*Sadakat* or *tamesodek*
10 camels	2 goats
15 camels	3 goats
25 camels	1 young camel
50 camels	1 full-grown camel
100 camels	2 full-grown camels

The *Echchikhen* and the blacksmiths took the *sadakat* animals to the two noble lords, who gave some of them to the collectors, themselves exempted from taxation. The bulk of the animals was sold at the market of Agadez and most of the proceeds given to poor people by the noble lords, who would keep a small part for themselves.

The two noble lords, the drum-chief and the chief of the *Kel Azel*, had the right to parts of war-booty taken by their vassals according to the following rules:—

(1) *témaggedaz*, that is booty taken on raids organized by the noble lords, the drum-chief or the chief of the *Kel Azel*. The term refers to any kind of booty, e.g., riding camels, she-camels, horses, cattle, etc. Half of such booty according to the noble Tuareg was the right of the noble lords, while the other half should be given to their vassals. Vassal Tuareg nowadays know extremely little about these old rules, but I met one vassal Tuareg who claimed that only one seventh of the booty should go to the noble lord. The word *téfadez* is said to have been used synonymously with *témaggedaz*.

(2) *téwit*, that is booty taken from foreign groups of Tuareg, or from Arab and Tebu pastoralists attacking camps of the *Kel Ferwan* group. In other words this kind of booty comprises riding camels and horses taken from assailants who run away, are killed, or are made prisoners. Under such circumstances it is said that the noble lord would take a number of riding animals at his discretion. A particular case is related of a group of *Iwllemmeden* Tuareg attacking a camp of *Kel Ferwan* vassals

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placed directly under the drum-chief. The vassals counter-attacked and won the battle. They made four prisoners and took as booty two horses and several riding camels (unknown how many). As his part the drum-chief took one horse and five camels. But he also took the four prisoners to his camp. He kept them there for about a month, when they were released, dressed in new clothes, and mounted on excellent riding camels with good saddles.

(3) *ékechchedi* – perhaps written *ékejjedi* – that is booty taken by vassals during raids carried out without the permission of their noble lord. In this case the latter would take all booty for himself and leave nothing for the vassals, who were not allowed to engage in warfare and raiding on their own account – unless attacked by foreign raiders.

We see from the above-mentioned rules that the political system of the *Kel Ferwan* group is based upon a more strict relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals than among the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is very interesting that the *Kel Ferwan* vassals made no annual payments for land-rights. Any vassal tribe lived within a particular territory which was given to it by the drum-chief, and the vassals were not allowed to defend their areas without his consent. The drum-chief claimed to possess all land and he gave particular grazing grounds to particular tribes.

Even vassal Tuareg say that the drum-chief could be very strict and severe with them in the past. But here it should be remembered that there were limits to his power, as he could not refuse his subjects the right of blood-revenge. It should also be reiterated that the drum-chief was elected by his vassals, who could also dismiss him. And strictness or severeness with his vassals was not the drum-chief's normal way of conduct. Like other noble Tuareg he would normally not only associate with the vassals on intimate terms, but would also joke with them. A joking-relationship (*adélen*) related to that of cross-cousins and brothers and sisters-in-law, including sham-fights and minor "thefts", existed between all noble Tuareg and all vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group. They would joke with each other unless there was a great difference in age. But although joking was reciprocal, it is said that the drum-chief could stop joking, in which case the vassals would "be afraid of him". "People who are different tease each other to prevent trouble", the Tuareg say. For this reason there was joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, but joking between members of these two different Tuareg classes did not occur unless they belonged to the same drum-group. There would be no joking between vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group and noble Tuareg of the *Kel Fadey*. In this latter case there would be avoidance or strict reserve. There seems to be little doubt that joking played an important part in the maintenance of the class-division which formed the basis of political organization. It is important to mention in this context that joking among the Tuareg is a sign of friendship. It prevents conflicts and thereby it establishes a friendship relation. This is true also of present day joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, and between all Tuareg and various black-skinned people such as the *Imeggedezen* and even slaves. This particular type of joking relationship is clearly related to that between cross-cousins, the more so as joking partners of different classes or castes will very frequently address each other as *ábubuz* (pl. *ibubazen*), that is "cross-cousin". I return to the functional position of joking in Tuareg society in a later chapter.

It is said that marriages between noble Tuareg and vassals did not take place in the past. This statement seems to be almost true, for though I have enquired much into this matter I have only